

# PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

14

INDIANA CONVENTION,

ASSEMBLED TO ORGANIZE

A STATE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,,

HELD IN

MILTON, WAYNE Co.,

September 12th, 1838.

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CINCINNATI.

SAMUEL A. ALLEY, PRINTER, CORNER OF MAIN & SIXTH.

1838.

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# MINUTES, &C.

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Pursuant to a call made by citizens of the State of Indiana, through the Philanthropist, the delegates from local Anti-Slavery Societies and the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, met this morning, Sept. 12th, at 10 o'clock, A. M., in the public school-house in Milton, Wayne co., Ia.

The meeting being called to order by *Rev. M. H. WILDER*, *Rev. J. CLARK* was called to the Chair, and *JAMES MCCOY* appointed Sec. pro. tem. After prayer by *Rev. M. H. WILDER*, the objects of the meeting were stated, and, on motion it was

*Resolved*, That there be a committee of three appointed to make out a list of the members of the Convention.

Whereupon *JAS. MORROW* and *JAMES ANDERSON* of Jefferson, and *PETER CHERRY* of Cass, were appointed said Committee.

*On motion*, it was agreed that the friends of the cause present from other states be invited to take their seats as corresponding members of this Convention.

*On motion*, it was ordered that a committee of three be appointed to nominate officers for this Convention. *M. H. WILDER* of Franklin, *T. HICKLIN* of Jennings, *S. MITCHELL* of Wayne, were appointed said committee.

*On motion*, ordered that ladies in attendance, desiring to have their names enrolled as members of the Convention, have now an opportunity of doing so.

*On motion*, the following gentlemen were appointed a committee to prepare business for the Convention;—*JAMES BOYLE*, *M. H. WILDER*, *PUSEY GRAVES*, *Dr. E. FUSSEL*, and *JOHN C. MCCOY*.

*On motion*, agreed that an address be delivered to the Convention this afternoon at 2 o'clock, and that the business committee procure the speaker.

*On motion*, the Convention agreed on a recess until half past one o'clock.

*Half past 1 o'clock.*

Convention met; *J. CLARK* in the Chair.

Committee to make out a list of members reported the following names of delegates.

*Decatur Co.*

John C. McCoy,	George McCoy,
Luther A. Donnell,	James McCoy.

*Wayne Co.*

John Mitchell,	K. Sinks,
Isaac Farr,	E. K. Quiner,
Elizabeth Boswell,	Wm. Brown.

*Middle Fork of White Water Society.*

Saml. Mitchell,	Daniel Hiatt,
Kersey Grave,	Jacob Grave,
Elihu Cox,	G. Mendenhall,
Pusey Grave,	Enos Grave,
John G. Reed,	Gibson Grave.
David J. Grave,	

*Madison, Fall Creek Society.*

Dr. Edwin Fussell,	E. S. West,
R. S. Fussell,	J. J. Lewis,
Saml. West,	R. F. Lewis.

*Morgan Co. Western A. S. Society.*

David Doan,	Robt. Doan,
Thomas Hadley,	William Boles.

*Jefferson Co. A. S. Society.*

Col. James Morrow,	James Anderson.
Rev. James M. Henderson,	

*Cass Co.*

P. Cherry.

*Franklin Co.*

Rev. M. H. Wilder.

*Union Co.*

Wm. Beard,	Nath. Swain.
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*Jay Co.*

E. Lewis,	E. Davis.
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*Jennings Co.*

Rev. Thomas Hicklin.

*Dearborn Co.*

Rev. J. Clarke.

*Fayette Co.*

Jacob Weeks,	Wm. W. Evens.
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*Corresponding Members from Ohio.*

Rev. James Boyle,	J. O. Wattles,
Wm. Donaldson,	A. Farr.
J. Farr,	

Committee appointed to nominate officers for the Convention, reported the names of the following gentlemen,

*President,*

Col. JAMES MORROW.

*Vice Presidents.*

NATHAN GRAVE,

JOHN C. MCCOY.

*Secretaries,*

EDWIN FUSSELL,

JAMES MCCOY.

On motion,

*Resolved*, That all persons in attendance be invited to participate in the deliberations and discussions of this Convention, none being entitled to vote on any question but the members.

The Committee to prepare business, submitted as a report, in part, the Declaration of Sentiments published by the A. A. S. Society, for adoption as the sentiments of this Convention.

The hour of 2 o'clock having passed, JAMES BOYLE, by appointment in accordance with a resolution of the forenoon, addressed the meeting in illustration and support of the doctrines contained in the Declaration submitted by the Committee.

*On motion*, The report of Business Committee was received, and ordered to be read and considered, paragraph at a time.

After proceeding with the reading of the first paragraph, an animated and interesting discussion ensued.

On motion, adjourned until to-morrow morning at 8 o'clock.

*Thursday Morning, 8 o'clock.*

Convention met—JAMES MORROW in the Chair—roll called—minutes of yesterday read and approved.

On motion,

*Resolved*, That the Secretary be instructed to lay aside in the minutes all honorary titles, and that in publishing the minutes they shall be omitted.

The order of the day was then called up, viz. the Declaration, &c.

Whereupon, on motion the caption was stricken out and the following adopted.

"The Convention assembled at Milton, Wayne co., Ia., to organize a State Anti-Slavery Society, would adopt and promulgate the following Declaration of the A. A. S. Society, as the expression of their Sentiments on the subject of Slavery."

The reading of the report by paragraphs was then continued; each, being discussed, was separately adopted, until the reading of the last sentence of 8th par. on 5th p., which reads,

"We concede that Congress, under the present national compact, has no right to interfere with any of the slave states, in relation to this momentous subject."

The motion being made to strike out was carried, and the sentence stricken out.

The reading and discussion then proceeded, each paragraph being unanimously adopted.

The reading of the whole then being called for, on being read, it was

*Moved*, To amend the last item on the 4th page, by striking out the words "*who possess the qualifications, &c.,*" and inserting *possess equal qualifications in other respects.*" Carried.

*On motion*, The Declaration (being read,) was then adopted as a whole, unanimously, by a rising vote.

The Business Committee then presented the following resolution, which being ably discussed, was unanimously adopted.

*Resolved*, That it is expedient for this Convention to organize an Anti-Slavery Society for the State of Indiana.

While this resolution was under discussion, a letter from GAMALIEL BAILEY, of Cincinnati, was introduced and read by JAMES BOYLE.

*On motion*,

*Resolved*, That this letter be published with the proceedings of the Convention.

The Committee on business then reported the following preamble and constitution :

#### P R E A M B L E .

Whereas our national existence is based upon the inalienable rights of man as set forth in our Declaration of Independence, in which we have published to the world our belief of the principles of Universal Liberty and Equality of Rights ; and whereas, notwithstanding this public declaration of our sentiments, we stand convicted before the world of holding one sixth of our whole population in a most abject and cruel bondage by a system of slavery which is opposed to the laws of God and the best interests of man, which is corrupting the fountains of our prosperity and threatening the peace of the nation ; And whereas our political relations are such that this foul stain upon the character of the nation can be removed only by the concentrated force of a correct public sentiment, and believing that it is practicable by appeals to the hearts and the consciences of men so to awaken public feeling against this horrid system, as to cause its speedy abolition, and that it is a debt we owe to the oppressed, to our fellow citizens who hold slaves, to our country, and to God, to do all we can lawfully to bring this system to a peaceful end,—we, therefore, in reliance on divine aid, identify ourselves with the Anti-Slavery cause, and for our more efficient action, form ourselves into a Society; under the following Constitution :

## CONSTITUTION.

*Article First*—This society shall be called the Indiana State Anti-Slavery Society.

*Second*—The object of this Society shall be to promote the great objects of the American Anti-Slavery Society in the State of Indiana; by the dissemination of knowledge respecting the evils of slavery, and the duty and safety of immediate emancipation, so that the voice of the State may be heard from her Representatives, from the People and the Press, proclaiming the inalienable rights of all men, without respect of color, "to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

*Third*—This Society shall aim to elevate the character of our colored population, by promoting their moral and intellectual improvement and by endeavoring to remove the prejudice that has kept the free men of color from a participation in the rights and privileges of citizens; but we will never countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by a resort to physical force.

*Fourth*—The members of this Society shall be its officers; the officers and delegates of its auxiliaries and all persons that shall assent to the principles of this constitution, and subscribe to the funds of the society; Slaveholders excepted.

*Fifth*—The officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice President, a Corresponding and Recording Secretary, a Treasurer and ten Directors.

*Sixth*—The Directors at their annual meeting shall appoint an Executive Committee, of not less than five, nor more than ten members, of whom the President, Secretary and Treasurer shall be ex-officio members, who shall transact all the business of the society, and report to the society in full at each annual meeting.

*Seventh*—Any society in this State, male or female, organized on the principles of this Constitution, may become Auxiliary to this Society, by sending to our Secretary notice of their formation, together with a copy of each annual report; and their President and Corresponding Secretary shall be members of the Board of Directors, and they shall also be entitled to a representation at each meeting of this Society.

*Eighth*—The Executive Committee shall have the power to call special meetings, to fill their own vacancies and the vacancies in the offices of Secretary and Treasurer, to enact By-Laws and employ Agents, and make such regulations for the diffusion of the principles of the society, and for the accomplishment of its objects as their wisdom shall direct. They shall pay out all expenses by order on the Treasurer. The Treasurer shall keep all the funds of the Society, subject to the order of the Committee, and at each annual meeting shall present an audited report of the state of the Treasury during the year.

*Ninth*—The Annual Meetings of the Society shall be held at such time and place as the Executive Committee shall direct, when the officers shall be chosen, and reports of the doings of the Committee presented.

*Tenth*—This Constitution may be amended by a vote of two-thirds of the members present, at any annual meeting, provided the amendments have been

previously submitted in writing to the Executive Committee, at least thirty days previous to the meeting.

*On motion*, the report was received and ordered to be considered, article by article, beginning with the preamble.

The question then arising on the adoption of it as a whole, it was unanimously agreed to.

*On motion*, the following gentlemen were appointed a committee to nominate officers for the Indiana State Anti-Slavery Society:—JAMES MCCOY, M. H. WILDER, J. CLARKE, PUSEY GRAVE, and P. CHERRY.

*On motion*, the Convention agreed to take a recess until 2 o'clock, P. M.

*Thursday, 2 o'clock, P. M.*

Convention met, J. MORROW, President, in the chair.

JAMES BOYLE submitted a plan of the Executive Committee of the O. A. S. S., permanently to establish a depository of Anti-Slavery publications in the city of Cincinnati—whereupon, it was

*On motion of J. Clarke*,

*Resolved*, That this Convention highly approve of the plan proposed by the Executive Committee of the O. A. S. S. for the permanent establishment of a depository of Anti-Slavery publications in the city of Cincinnati, and recommend said plan to the liberal patronage of Abolitionists in the State of Indiana.

The committee to nominate officers then reported the following, which was adopted :

*President.*

James Morrow, *Jefferson County.*

*Vice Presidents.*

Jeremiah Sullivan, *Jefferson County.*

Jacob Grave, *Wayne* "

Ziba Casteline, *Franklin* "

Thomas Tyrall, *Laporte* "

Wm. Mudge, *Carroll* "

Wm. W. Wood, *Putnam* "

Luke Munsell, *Marion* "

Samuel K. Sneed, *Floyd* "

James Donnell, *Decatur* "

*Recording Secretary.*

James McCoy, *Decatur County.*

*Corresponding Secretary.*

J. Clarke, *Dearborn County.*

*Directors.*

Pusey Grave, *Wayne County.*

A. T. Rankin, *Allen* "

Peter Cherry, *Cass* "

William Wymond, *Dearborn* "

James H. Johnson,	<i>Jefferson</i>	"
James M. Henderson,	"	"
William Beard,	<i>Union</i>	"
Asa Wright,	<i>Washington</i>	"
Thos. Hicklin,	<i>Irwing</i>	"
Moses H. Wilder,	<i>Franklin</i>	"

'The committee on business submitted the following resolutions, which, being separately considered and discussed, were adopted.

*Resolved*, That *American Slavery*, is the vilest beneath the Sun; its tendencies are not only to crush the bodies, but to destroy the souls of its victims; it is a heinous sin against God and Man;—a foul blot on our national escutcheon, and ought to be immediately repented of and abandoned; and we pledge ourselves, as Men, as Christians and as Patriots, to use all consistent measures in our power for its Abolition.

*Resolved*, That we unhesitatingly pronounce the Slavery of this country to be in the broadest sense of the phrase, *American Slavery—a National crime*; because it exists and is protected in the National Domain, and in the Territory of Florida, by the consent and approbation of the National Legislature;—because the Constitution of the United States obliges the whole American people to co-operate with the slaveholder in retaining his hold upon the victims of his avarice and cruelty, by delivering up the unhappy fugitives from bondage who flee to us for protection;—because the support of a standing army for the security of slavery, and the expenditure of \$15,000,000 and a great waste of human blood, in waging a cruel and treacherous war with the Indians in Florida to recover fugitive slaves, and deprive them of a place of refuge, is sanctioned by the American People; and because that atrocious, that execrable villany, the domestic slave-trade, is tacitly sustained by the Congress of the United States.

*Resolved*, That the spirit of slavery is not confined to any section of our country—that it affects the North as well as the South—tends to crush the Northern Laborer as well as the Southern Slave—and that it knows no limits in color, but the extent of its own irresponsible might. Facts tend to show us plainly that slaveholders desire, and aim at, the extension of slavery over our whole country; as philanthropists and lovers of our own liberties, we are imperatively bound to use every right measure, until every fetter shall be broken, and the "Slave shall be a Man."

*Resolved*, That the late acting out of our principles in the British West Indies, is the commencement of a glorious victory, and urges us on with the fullest assurance of faith to the final consummation. That it is practical proof that our principles and measures, are safe, practicable and right—demonstration clear as sunlight, that good and good only is the result of doing right—full of arguments standing up in all the incontrovertible majesty of facts, proving that the truth is mighty and will prevail—and casting a withering and scorching light on all the apologists for Slavery, and opposers of human liberty.

*Resolved*, That if *Immediate Emancipation* in the West Indies was safe, and "has resulted in the general good of all parties concerned," where there was but one white to fifteen slaves, it would therefore certainly be safe and practicable in the United States, where there are six whites to one slave.

*Resolved*, That we believe with Washington, that "some plan ought to be adopted, by which Slavery in this country may be abolished by law;" with Jefferson, that "the Almighty has no attribute which can take part" with the slaveholder in this contest; with Lafayette, that it is indeed "mortifying" to see in this land of free institutions, "a large portion of the people slaves to the rest," and that Slavery "is a dark spot on the face of the nation; with Bolivar, that "Slavery is an infringement of all law;" with William Pitt, that "Slavery is a mass, a system of enormities, which incontrovertibly bid defiance to every regu-



ation that ingenuity can devise, or power effect, but a total abolition ;" with John Wesley, that "men-stealers and men-buyers are the very worst of thieves," and that "it is not possible that any child of *man* should ever be *born a slave*;" with Jonathan Edwards, that 'to hold a man in a state of slavery, is to be every day and hour guilty of robbing him of his liberty, or of *man-stealing*;' with Willerforce, that this system 'is the full measure of pure, unmixed, unsophisticated wickedness,' and 'stands without a rival;' with Henry Brougham, that 'it is a wild and guilty phantasy that man can hold property in man;' with Rowland Hill, that 'Slavery is made up of every crime that treachery, cruelty,' and we might add, 'avarice,' can invent; with Abbe Raynal, that 'he who supports the system of slavery is the enemy of the human race;' with Henry Clay, that it is a 'curse to the master, a wrong, a grievous wrong to the slave;' that with John Jay, 'we hope the time may soon come when all our inhabitants, of every color and denomination,' shall be free and equal partakers of our liberty;' and that, in view of all these considerations, therefore it ought to be immediately abandoned.

*Resolved*, That we feel bound to give thanks to Almighty God for the success which has already attended our holy enterprise in behalf of his suffering poor; and that, with firm confidence in the rectitude of its principles and measures, and in humble reliance upon Divine aid, we ardently hope for a speedy triumph.

*Resolved*, That while we deplore the apparent indifference of the people of our State in regard to Slavery and its Abolition, we have reason to rejoice in view of present appearances, especially in the spirit manifested on the present occasion, and in reference to this Convention.

*Resolved*, That we have never been able to discover any more reason why *Africa* is the 'native country' of colored Americans, than why Europe is the 'native country' of white Americans; and that, therefore, those who plead this as an excuse for expatriation are guilty of respect of persons, and cruel hatred on account of complexion, which is a high handed and an aggravated sin against God.

*Resolved*, That prejudice against any portion of the human family on account of their condition, or the color of their skins, is rebellion against God, who has created, in his likeness, all the tribes of Men; and while we rebukè the sin of holding men as chattels, we are equally bound to war against prejudice or man-hatred, and to treat our colored brethren with common civility and kindness.

*Resolved*, That we, as a Society, desire to lay aside all sectarian and other prejudices, and gladly welcome to our ranks, all, whatever their rank, creed or color, who esteem it a privilege to plead for those who cannot plead for themselves; and knowing that in *union* lies our *strength*, we will labor to preserve harmony and good feeling among all the members of our Society.

*Resolved*, That, as Abolitionists, we deprecate the organization of any abolition political party; but that we will interrogate candidates for office touching their opinions on subjects connected with our enterprise, and vote irrespectively of party, for those only who will advocate the principles of universal Liberty.

*Resolved*, That our honest thanks are due to the Hon. John Quincy Adams and Hon. Mr. Cushing of Mass., Hon. Wm. Slade of Vermont, and Hon. Thos. Morris of Ohio, for their noble, firm, and manly stand in behalf of human rights and the universal freedom of Man; and that we also highly commend the stand taken by the Hon. O. H. Smith of our own State in defence of the principles of Liberty—and warmly approve of the course pursued by all our delegation in the House of Representatives with the exception of Ratchiff Boon.

*Resolved*, That we recommend to all Abolitionists to abstain as far as possible from the proceeds of unrequited labor—the price of human blood—that thereby they will more fully show their devotion to the cause, and their attachment to abolition from the love of principle.

*Resolved*, That we will petition the next Legislature of our State to repeal our

statute laws relating to Negroes and Mulattoes, so far as they are contrary to the Declaration of Independence, and our State Constitution, in which it is averred "That ALL MEN are *born EQUALLY FREE and INDEPENDENT*, and have certain *natural, inherent, and inalienable* rights, among which are the enjoying and defending Life and Liberty, and of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety."

*Resolved*, That it be recommended to abolitionists to patronize the "Genius of Universal Emancipation," the publication of which is about to be resumed in Illinois, under the editorship of the veteran Lundy—the long tried and faithful, the toil and time worn friend of the Slave—the fearless advocate of Universal Rights.

*Resolved*, That as there is much want of correct information on the subject of Human Rights in this State, we therefore recommend the establishing Anti-Slavery Libraries, for gratuitous circulation, as a cheap and sure way of affording a correct knowledge of the whole subject.

*Resolved*, That we recommend to Anti-Slavery Societies throughout the State, to adopt the monthly or quarterly subscription plan for raising funds to aid in the exertions of the State Society.

*Resolved*, That this Society approves of the spirit and manner in which the PHILANTHROPIST is conducted, and that our interests and the general interests of the cause in the West, demand its encouragement and support; *we, therefore, adopt it as our OFFICIAL ORGAN*, and request all Abolitionists to use their exertions to extend its circulation.

On motion of John Clarke,

*Resolved*, That members of this Society *pledge themselves to make their best efforts to extend the circulation of the PHILANTHROPIST, and each member pledge himself to obtain at least five new subscribers to that paper.*

On motion of John Clarke,

The Executive Committee were instructed to supply an agent whose duty it shall be to lecture throughout the state, collect funds for the use of the Society, and obtain subscriptions to the Philanthropist.

Adjourned till to-morrow morning, at 8 o'clock.

*Friday Morning, 8 o'clock.*

Met agreeably to adjournment. James Morrow, president, in the chair, who called the meeting to order.

The Minutes of yesterday were read and approved.

M. H. Wilder presented the following resolution, which was considered and adopted:—

*Resolved*, That in the prosecution of our work we rely solely upon the Divine blessing upon our efforts for success, and that to secure that blessing, we are only to inquire what is duty, and having found the path, to go forward, leaving all the consequences to the direction of Him who rules the hearts of men.

On motion,

*Resolved*, That a vote of thanks be given to those worthy citizens of this place and vicinity who have entertained us with such kindness and hospitality, and aided in sustaining this meeting.

On motion,

*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the peaceful and orderly citizens of this place, to ferret out and bring to just punishment the individuals who have been in any wise engaged in the depredations committed during the session of this Convention, and that the Executive Committee aid in such prosecutions.

The following resolution was offered by E. Fussell, and adopted.

*Resolved*, That the Executive Committee be authorized to draft, publish, and distribute throughout the state, a petition to the State Legislature, for the passage of a law making each county responsible for all damages done by mobs in their limits.

On motion of John Clarke, the following resolutions were adopted:—

*Resolved*, That it is highly expedient and necessary that a manual labor institution of learning should be gotten up as soon as practicable, for the education of colored persons.

*Resolved*, That this Convention very respectfully recommend to the Executive Committee of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society to take speedy measures to obtain a charter from the State Legislature, and all other such measures as they may deem proper for the permanent and successful establishment of such an institution, at such a point as they may deem most suitable.

*Resolved*, That we pledge ourselves, by our influence and contributions, to aid, as far as in our power, such an enterprize, and do hereby recommend to all our friends in the state to patronize and aid it.

*Resolved*, That the Executive Committee be instructed to give at least thirty days notice of all special meetings, and sixty days notice of annual meetings.

*Resolved*, That when we adjourn, the proceedings of this Convention be committed to the Executive Committee of the Indiana State Anti-Slavery Society for publication, with directions to add an Address to the citizens of the state.

On approaching an adjournment, the President delivered a valedictory address, which, on motion, the Executive Committee were instructed to publish, in connection with the proceedings of this Convention.

Prayer by John Clarke.

Adjourned sine die.

EDWIN FUSSELL, }  
JAMES McCOY, } *Secretaries.*

## EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors, Sept. 13, 1838, the following persons were appointed the Executive Committee of the Indiana State Anti-Slavery Society;—

JAMES DONNELL,  
JAMES H. JOHNSTON,  
JAMES M. HENDERSON,  
M. H. WILDER,  
SAMUEL MITCHELL,  
JAMES McCOY,  
JOHN CLARK.

## G. BAILEY'S LETTER.

PUBLISHED ACCORDING TO ORDER.

*To the Convention of Abolitionists, assembled at Milton, Wayne County, Indiana, for the purpose of forming a State Anti-Slavery Society.*

DEAR FRIENDS,—

After having been privileged to be a co-worker with you in arranging the preliminaries of your Convention, it would have given me much pleasure to have met together with you; but this pleasure is denied me. Family circumstances and the duties of my station demand my presence at home.

The time is at hand when the *West* should be regarded as the most important field for anti-slavery operations.

Our situation *peculiarly* exposes us to the insidious, and incessant inroads of the spirit and practices of slavery.—Streams of emigration from the South are continually flowing along our borders, or through our states, and Slavery itself, as she passes through our midst, is suffered to rattle her chains, *unrebuked*, and put forth all her inhuman prerogatives. The people, accustomed to witness the horrors of a system which acknowledges no right but that of force, and sinks men to the condition of brutes, and restrained by law from active efforts to do justice and relieve the oppressed, are corrupted in principle and feeling. The grand idea of the inviolate sacredness of man's nature becomes *fainter* in their minds, and they gradually lose that reverence for individual, *personal* rights, which free and christian institutions cherish, and without which there can be no enduring basis for real freedom.

Another way in which the tone of republican spirit is lowered among us, is by the settlement within our borders of emigrants from slave states. They bring with them their deep prejudices against the colored race, and their lax notions of human rights. They have emigrated, not from *hatred of the principle* of slavery, but dislike of its *inconvenience to themselves*. Their spirit and sentiments are essentially *pro-slavery*.—These remarks apply only to a majority; we rejoice to believe that there are many exceptions. It is easy to conceive, how pernicious must be their influence on all subjects involving the rights of the colored man, and how low will be the tone of public sentiment with regard to civil liberty, within the sphere of their action.

Other sources of pro-slavery corruption are to be found in our multiplied family alliances, constant social intercourse, and intimate commercial connections, with the South. Domestic attachments, friendship, interest, are continually lessening our sympathy for the slave, framing ingenious excuses for an execrable system of oppression, blinding us to the enormous guilt of enslaving a fellow mortal, and consequently, impairing our love of free principles.

Whilst all these circumstances evidently corrupt public sentiment among us, threaten our free institutions, and indeed have so far perverted them, as to make our free colored inhabitants victims of the grossest injustice, and consequently in-

dictate the necessity of peculiarly energetic *anti-slavery* effort,—they also furnish rare facilities for bringing the power of abolitionism to bear upon Southern slavery. Let the public mind of the West be imbued with the truths of abolitionism; let a correct public sentiment be established throughout our borders, and all the circumstances we have alluded to, would supply us with peculiar opportunities for disseminating light and truth among our slave-holding neighbors.

The simple circumstance of our being directly on the borders of the slave states, is all important, in view of efficient action. The public sentiment of Ohio will be felt more strongly and be better appreciated in Kentucky or Virginia, than the public sentiment of Maine. A great moral movement in Louisiana would have far less effect in Pennsylvania, than a similar movement in Maryland. Proximity, to us, is power. Our agencies should be brought to bear as directly as possible on the objects we seek to influence; and if we cannot have an anti-slavery organization in Kentucky, Virginia, and Missouri, we must establish one all along their boundary lines.

Again,—in addition to this *nearness of access* to the slave states, we have *less prejudice* to contend against than our Eastern brethren. These Western states have been largely settled by Southern men, so that the slaveholding states feel as if *we* were more nearly related to them, than are their *Northern* neighbors. The jealousy, entertained by the South of the *Eastern* states, is proverbial; while with the *West*, it affects an identity of interests and sympathies, and is fond of multiplying its social and commercial connections.

Once more.—The West is the bond of union between North and South, and is destined to exert a controlling influence over the destinies of the entire republic. *Here* is to be the basis, the central point, of the American empire; *here* will be the population and power. Let the multitudes of youth now springing up in this vast region be thoroughly imbued with the same pure, earnest, clear-sighted love of liberty that gave birth to the celebrated ordinance of '87, an ordinance distinguished for the excellent safeguards it has thrown around individual freedom,—and our country is saved; our liberties are secured, the Union is perpetuated—perpetuated, not by guilty compromises and a nation's pledge to hold her peace, while the strong rob the weak, but by the cordial agreement of all to carry out to their fullest extent the grand doctrines of human rights, promulgated in our Declaration of Independence.

*Dear Friends:*—At a comparatively late period in the history of our cause, you have resolved to organize an Indiana State Anti-Slavery Society; but it is not yet the *eleventh hour*. Nay, I question much whether the day is *far* advanced. A *great* deal is to be *done*, a *great* deal to be *suffered*. The ignorance of the public with regard to our enterprise is remarkable; its indifference to the evils and dangers of slavery, lamentable; its prejudice against abolitionism, profound. Slavery is still rampant in the South; the Convention bill has been defeated in Kentucky; another slaveholding state is on the eve of applying for admission into the Union; the danger of the annexation of Texas still threatens; the national councils continue under slaveholding influence; *slave-holders* dictate the policy of the national government; slavery exists by authority of Congress in the District of Columbia, and *slave-holders* have decided that the people of the

North shall not even pray for its abolition; the right of petition is trodden under foot; the legislatures of *free, sovereign* states are insulted by *slavery-committees*; the southern church is laid waste by the abomination of desolation; the northern church is still guilty of consenting unto robbery; the black man is yet the subject of inhuman legislation; and freedom of discussion, the dread foe of oppression, the angel of liberty, though triumphant in many places, from some is driven out, and in others utters her voice at the peril of her life.

Think not, therefore, that you have rallied too late for *service*. You will have not only to *work hard*, but *suffer much*. Your trials are yet to come, and they may indeed be fiery. The prejudice of the people against the colored man is extended to his *friends*. They will impeach your motives, misapprehend your doctrines, misrepresent your measures, slander your good name, wound you in your tenderest interests, assail, it may be, your persons. They will teach themselves to regard you as enemies to your country, framers of mischief, dispossessed of good, dark and degraded in character. Your arguments will be stigmatized as maniacal ravings, and your statements as falsehoods. Your own familiar friends may lift up the heel against you, and your foes shall be those of your own household. Against all these assaults, nothing will avail, but a good cause, a quiet temper, a stout heart, and trust in God. Over these, *evil cannot prevail*; before them, *evil must fall*.

The *ignorance* of the public is as *discouraging*, as its *prejudice* is *painful*. The American people are not awake to their responsibilities in relation to slavery. They do not understand clearly their connection with it; they know not to what extent and in how many ways they are guilty.—While slavery is sending out its ramifications into all parts of the Union, and poisoning the whole atmosphere of liberty, they, at the North, cannot see what they have to do with it. It seems never to strike them that the prejudice which leads them to degrade and abuse the colored man, is the very spirit of slavery, and one of the main pillars of the bloody fabric. Kidnappers prowl in their cities and haunt their borders, and the liberties of thousands of their free colored citizens are exposed to the fangs of these human harpies; and still they have nothing to do with slavery. State after state has been admitted into the Union, with the brand of slavery on its forehead, *by the consent of the free states*; and still they cannot see how *they are responsible for slavery*. The right of petition is cloven down, and the people of the North spurned like menials, by slaveholders, and freedom of discussion is smothered by the suicidal hands of Northern representatives; but still they cannot understand what *they have to do with slavery*. They open their pulpits to slave-holding ministers, commune with slaveholding members, invent apologies for their conduct, justify slavery under present circumstances, give all their sympathy to the master, none to the slave, and yet have nothing to do with slavery. At the mandate of slavery, they break up meetings of delicate females, abuse the advocates of freedom, pull down presses, burn up a beautiful temple consecrated to free discussion, and murder a noble-spirited citizen for telling his countrymen the truth; and yet have nothing to do with slavery. Amazing infatuation!

Hostility to abolitionism keeps them ridiculously ignorant of momentous

events transpiring at their own doors. An editor of a political journal in this city, a few days since, after briefly stating that Jamaica had freed her slaves, remarked, "I wonder when the rest of the islands will free theirs." He had never noticed the accounts spread out for weeks before in the abolition papers, of the acts of emancipation passed in nearly all the colonies! I have carefully watched the course of political and religious papers in Ohio, and of the political papers to some extent in Indiana, and I soberly declare, that I have seen nothing in any of them, except two or three, which could furnish the people with *any thing like a correct idea* of this stupendous revolution in the West Indies. And yet, dear friends, *there be at this hour six hundred thousand FREE men and women* in those colonies, who ten years ago believed themselves doomed to die, SLAVES—whipped, worn-out, wasted, SLAVES.

*Abolitionists of Indiana!* Is not your zeal quickened into fervid life? Do you not burn to pour out a flood of light upon the public mind? Can you be idle, when so much is to be done? Will you consult your ease, while ignorance and prejudice thus peril the destinies of this "our own, our native land?"

The cause of freedom needs *active* recruits. Converts to our *doctrines* multiply faster than converts to our *measures*. Many *believe*, who will not *act at all*. Danger appals them, de-pair palsies, or interest keeps them silent. Or, it may be, their hearts are untouched by the woes of the slave, or they are more anxious for their reputation with the rabble, than for the reputation of their country with the nations of the earth.

In these days of slavish submission to public opinion, of exclusive attention to petty selfish interests, it is no light matter to be a *true abolitionist*. There are abolitionists, whose good nature is always getting the better of good principle; others, *popularity-men*, who change their opinions whenever they change their company; some, who in the church fall back from the prosecution of what they know to be a right measure, cowering under the menace of discord and division; others, who studiously hide their abolition for the sake of securing a profitable run of customers; and many, who *unreluctantly* offer up their anti-slavery principles on the shrine of some party idol. Such men are of too flimsy materials to be wrought into *abolitionists*; they wear the *title*, without possessing the *virtue* which it represents.—*True* abolitionists are uncompromising, open, frank, consistent, unyielding, strong in their own resolution, the goodness of their cause, and the strength of God; glory in their principles, scorn all crooked policy, ambiguous courses, half-way measures; are perfectly regardless in the performance of duty, of menace or seduction, reputation or interest; and rejoice to do and suffer all that the slave, their country, humanity, and God may demand.

May abolitionists of this sort abound in your Convention—men of clear minds, true hearts, and willing hands!

Yours for the Slave

and our Country,

GAMALIEL BAILEY, JR.

## ADDRESS

OF THE INDIANA ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION TO  
THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE. *Held at Milton, Sept.*  
12, 1838.

*Fellow Citizens of Indiana, and Brethren of all Denominations:*

The Convention would respectfully call your attention to the important subject of slavery, and the means of abolishing it. A spirit of philanthropy, prevailing in our infant State, has called together a Convention for the purpose of considering the best means of relieving the oppressed slave, promoting the happiness and safety of the master, and sustaining the liberties of the whole American people. Thus cementing the Union of these U. S., and perpetuating its blessings and benefits.

While Indiana stands unrivalled in exertions to promote the permanent interest of the country, by roads, canals, &c., not less essential to her permanent happiness is moral and intellectual improvement; and nothing is better calculated for this end, than the diffusion of light, especially on the subject of slavery, with its remedy; exhibiting in conspicuous view the bane and the antidote. For the more successful accomplishment of this object, the Convention which met at Milton, with cordial unanimity organized an Anti-Slavery Society for the State of Indiana. It is unnecessary to go into detail, as the proceedings ere this will reach you, will be published for your perusal.

To understand the enormous evils of Slavery with its effects, let us take a view of the principles of liberty established in the Declaration of Independence, and other similar documents based upon moral equity, and to which we all give a free assent.

In the Declaration of Independence, we, the the people, say—  
“We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men (and slaves are men, *for God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth,*) are created equal;—that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” Amendment of the Constitution of the U. S., Art. 4.—“The right of the



people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated." The 1st Article of the Constitution of Indiana reads thus—"That the general, great and essential principles of liberty and free government, may be recognized and unalterably established, WE DECLARE that all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural, inherent and unalienable rights, among which are the enjoying and defending life and liberty, and of acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety." Again, in Art. 11. Sec. VII., it is said—"There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in this State, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." Again, Sec. 3, "That all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences." The Ordinance of Congress of 1787, upon which this Constitution is based, holds the same language. Similar language respecting natural rights, liberty of speech and of the press, are to be found in most of the other state constitutions, some indeed are more cautious, and speak of *free men* forming a social compact; but let this suffice.

With these self-evident truths and declaration of rights, let us compare American Slavery. In defining what slavery is, we need say little more than quote Southern law. Louisiana Code, Art. 3, "A slave is one who is in the power of a master, to whom he belongs; the master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry, his labor, he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire any thing but which must belong to his master." Laws of South Carolina, Brevard's Digest, p. 229, "Slaves shall be deemed, taken, reputed and adjudged to be chattles personal in the hands of their masters and possessors, to all intents and purposes whatsoever." Thus the system of slavery recognizes the right of *man to hold property in man*, made after the image of God and whom the people declare to be born free, possessing certain unalienable rights. This "domestic institution," which a great man of the South declares to be a necessary pillar of a *republican* government, reduces a free born man to the level of a brute, assuming the prerogative of the Almighty, refusing the right and the means of worshipping his Maker or enjoying the right of lawful marriage, or the opportunity of training up his children in the *nurture and admonition of the Lord*. There rests a fearful responsibility on the master. The contrast between the declaration of rights and the condition of slaves, are so

great—so palpable that there is danger of insulting the understanding by offering comment.

The question is asked, What have we in the free states to do with slavery? We answer, you have a great deal to do with it, and you fellow-citizens of Indiana, are equally involved with others.

On the floor of Congress you know, there is a partial representation of slaves, which has constantly given a predominant influence in that body. This is partly owing to the *simple* yielding of the North and West, but it is no less true. Hence, we see hundreds of thousands of decorous and respectful petitions treated with the utmost contempt. Free discussion suppressed and gag resolutions passed in the national assembly of a *republican* government. New states admitted into the Union, with all the moral and political evils of slavery, and earnest contendings in the use of *dishonorable means* to enlarge our territory, that the leprosy may be still wider spread, and a balance of power in favor of the *accursed thing* secured. But this is not all: look to your compact and you will see that you may be called on to suppress insurrections. The plain meaning is, if the slaves rise to assert their natural and unalienable rights, you must go at the call of the government and shoot or tomahawk your neighbors, for doing the same thing (and the cause incomparably greater) for which you applaud our fathers of revolutionary memory. In all this, have we nothing to do with slavery?

It is a provision of the U. S. Constitution, that "The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the several states." It is further provided, as already shown, that people shall be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects. But of what avail is provisions on paper, when they are practically nullified? Who does not know the multiplied instances of personal abuse and even murder, unreasonable and unlawful searches and seizures, even robbing the post-office of papers and pamphlets, and burning them in the streets, because they contain sentiments expressed in the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of our country; i. e. that all men are born free, and should enjoy their *natural and unalienable rights*.

We are proud to say, that comparatively few of those disgraceful scenes which have fixed an indelible stain upon others, have been acted among you, yet we cannot conceal the fact that there is a pre-

slavery spirit more or less among us, and a great victory will be gained when this spirit is conquered.

This spirit is not only displayed on the floor of Congress, in the illiberal attacks upon *women*, but who does not see the same spirit manifested in some of the splendid college chapels of Indiana, where, under the influence of popular feeling, the orator will step out of his way to give women a slap, and a learned D. D. nod a cordial assent. One will insinuate and another will come out in open attack upon *women*, and that too in a place where the free discussion of slavery is not permitted, just because they exert their influence to abolish a system fraught with the greatest moral and political evils. Let those collegiate gentlemen debate the subject of slavery and abolition with the *women* whose discretion and intelligence they depreciate, and doubtless they will be as glad to escape as they were to encounter.

You have not only this spirit more or less, but you have actual slaveholders in various parts of the country among you, now enjoying the benefits of a free state, while their slaves are toiling on other plantations. You have then something to do with slavery, and you can do something to abolish it. You can exert your influence to do away an unwarrantable prejudice. You can obey the Scripture injunction—“*Open thy mouth for the dumb, in the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction. Open thy mouth, judge righteously, and plead the cause of the poor and needy.*”—You can point the finger of scorn at the man who would directly or indirectly encourage mobocratic outrage.—You can unite with other hundreds of thousands in petitioning Congress to abolish slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia, where they have the sole power of legislation—where a licence is paid to traffic in human flesh.—To prohibit it in the territories, and to admit no new state into the Union where slavery is tolerated.—You can contribute to the diffusion of information which may carry conviction to other states, where we do not even claim a right to petition. Let free states unite in opposition to slavery, and without any violence the system will fall. The united exertions of the churches alone would go far to accomplish that object. They are deeply responsible for the continuance of the evil. Some are going back, refusing to reaffirm their former attainments, while a few others are making laudable advances in reformation.

As the most successful means under Providence, for accomplishing the great object of restoring human rights, we would earnestly

recommend the organization of anti-slavery societies, at least one in each county, auxiliary to the State Society, with as many *branches* as circumstances may require, attached to each auxiliary; and in every suitable location to establish libraries. If only a dozen more or less be found in any neighborhood, willing to put their hand to the work, let them organize. It will afford an easy channel of communication by which contributions can be forwarded and books and papers received in return, and thus pour in a flood of light irresistible.

If it be objected that this measure will produce violent excitement, we answer, that peaceable citizens meeting in open day for the discussion of a subject deeply interesting to the whole community, ought not to produce angry excitement. It may be the occasion but not a just cause. Preaching the gospel by the Apostles was the occasion of mobocratic operations, but certainly not the cause, for they preached *peace on earth and good will toward men*. They proceeded in the way of duty, regardless of consequences, and so must we. Duty is ours, and consequences are God's. No notions of human expediency will justify a departure from this rule. It is never expedient to do wrong or neglect duty for fear of consequences. When Abraham was commanded to offer up his only son, he said not a word about expediency or consequences, but in the exercise of faith went straight forward in the path of duty;—a substitute was provided, and an honorable testimony in his favor left on record.

Joseph's brethren were too proud to hear of making obeisance to him, and to avoid the consequences interpreted from his dreams, they sold him for a slave; but the very consequences which they sinfully attempted to avoid, came upon them with deeper humiliation.

Jonah the prophet, probably afraid of losing his popularity, deemed it expedient to disobey the Divine command; but the great prophet was reproved by *heathen* mariners—spued out of the fish's mouth, and was at last obliged to do the duty and sit in the sun or under the shade of a gourd mercifully provided, to see the result.

When there were conflicting claims of obedience upon the Apostles, they avowed their determination to obey God rather than man, they were sometimes miraculously delivered. A governing Providence can let down his servants by the wall in a basket, or send his angel to loose their bonds.

But what is to be the consequences to us if we fold our arms in

apathy and just do nothing at all:—shall we sit still and await the awful judgments of heaven suspended over us, which sooner or later must inevitably fall on us if we avert not the stroke by timely repentance, “*breaking off our sins by righteousness, and our iniquities by showing mercy to the poor. For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord, and will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him. Hath He said and shall He not do it? or hath he spoken and shall He not make it good.*”

Where would we have been to-day but enveloped in the clouds of the dark ages, had Martin Luther and a host of kindred spirits been fearful of consequences, when called to duty.

It is our purpose to fulfil all our engagements to our sister states, and disavow any intention of using or encouraging the use of physical force to effect emancipation. But we do claim a right to use our constitutional privilege of “free communication of thoughts and opinions” as “one of the unalienable rights of man,” and we claim our constitutional right “to speak, write or print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty,” and by moral suasion to convince our slaveholding neighbors that it is their *interest* and their duty to let the *oppressed go free*—let *themselves*, who have the right and the power, do the noble deed. Look all over the country and you will see distilleries of ardent spirits in ruinous heaps by the force of truth; and who ever complained of a temperance society meddling with that which did not concern them, or interfering with the rights or property of others. Truth was mighty and prevailed to their conviction, and the owners themselves gave them up to the *moles and to the bats*.

It is not pretended that abolition movements from any part of a divine ordinance for the conversion of sinners, but only to effect a great moral reform. Hence those of the most discordant views on religious subjects may cordially unite in this benevolent enterprise.

In answer to the question, “Why don’t you go to the South with your doctrines?” we say, it is time enough to go there when we conquer a pro-slavery spirit at home; when this is effected, the South will be better prepared to receive us.

It is said our measures will give offence to slaveholders and make the condition of slaves worse. It is our duty to *rebuke our neighbor and not suffer sin upon him*. Such smiting did not break the head of a saint of old, and should not break the peace now. It is true Pharaoh tightened the cords of oppression upon the children

of Israel, but that was not the fault of Moses and Aaron, neither is it our fault when we in a friendly manner warn our neighbors of their sin and their danger.

If the slaves are happier in their present condition than if they were free, as alleged, why do they run away at the risk of being pursued with *trained* blood-hounds, or shot down like wild beasts? We cannot conceive of any man born free being happy when his soul and body is subject to the arbitrary will of another.

But say some, the slaves if freed could not take care of themselves. We answer this objection by reference to facts in the West Indies, where the experiment of immediate emancipation has been successfully tried. Messrs. Thome and Kimball were informed by one of the first men of Antigua, that "the negroes throughout the island were very peaceable when they received their freedom—he had found no difficulty in getting his people to work after they had received their freedom—some estates had suffered for a short time—there was a pretty general fluctuation for a month or two, the people leaving one estate and going to another; but this," said Mr. B. "was chargeable to the *folly* of the planters, who *overbid* each other, in order to secure the best hands and enough of them. The negroes had a strong *attachment to their homes*, and they would rarely abandon them unless harshly treated." Comment is unnecessary. We only add here, that instead of uttering threats as predicted, they were grateful and affectionate, and when the hour came they shouted praise to God for his merciful deliverance from thralldom. The military force established, and the weapons held *for fear in the night*, are now laid aside and all rest in safe and sweet repose.

Again, it is said if slaves be set free at once, how can we live among them, especially in the free states, where we should be crowded to overflowing. But we ask in turn, where are they now—are they not among us? Do they not nurse the white children—do not white and colored children play together with unrestrained intimacy—do not colored people cook the victuals and wait on tables, and when there is travelling there must be a black driver in front of the carriage, and all this in perfect good style; and slaveholders would think hard to have it otherwise. But let the same people be free and all this would be intolerable, even their olfactory nerves would be affected. They are governed by laws now, and the multiplicity and severity of the laws for their government in the slave states are truly astonishing, and can they not be governed by laws if they were free. In the free states colored people are as

peaceable and are as easily governed as other citizens, although they have no participation in making the laws. With respect to their crowding into the free states, it is *gradualism* that occasions it. Degradation and ill treatment in the slave states sends them hither, but let all be free immediately and social intercourse upon a respectable footing will draw largely upon the colored population of the free states. In the South their labor would be needed, and they would desire employment.

Is it not a shame for men claiming the least share of candor and intelligence to impose upon the ignorant, who scarcely know the meaning of the term, by keeping up the popular cry of amalgamation, when they well know it is no part of the abolition system—when they *know* that Abolitionists have always disavowed the principle, and when *they do know* that one object is to *prevent it*. Let a stranger travel through the slave states, and from the mixed colours that meet his eye at every step, he might conclude that amalgamation was considered a virtue; and trace the practical character to *Washington City*, and he would be confirmed in this opinion. And yet when it is proposed to elevate the condition of slaves by restoring their natural rights of freedom and placing female virtue under the protection of law, the scare-crow of amalgamation is immediately set up. No logical mind will ever arrive at the conclusion, that family connection is a legitimate inference from the doctrine of emancipation. Does it follow that the vilest free white man, loitering about a house of ill-fame, or staggering *drunk* to the election polls, is to have your daughter in marriage. This remark is made merely for illustration, not comparison.

It is not our desire to quarrel with other societies, such as the Colonization Society. It is but justice to say, that emancipation is no part of their plan. Their original principles and design may be known by reference to the speech of Henry A. Wise, at the 7th Anniversary of the Virginia Colonization Society; he says, "I became the zealous and active friend and advocate of the original principles of the design, to secure and fortify the institution of slavery itself, by colonizing the free people of color, particularly those of the slaveholding states on the shores of Africa." He proceeds to express a hope that Colonizationists will stick to their "original principles," which he declares to be "friendship to the slaveholder;" and contrasts this principle with that of Abolitionists, which he declares to be "philanthropy to the slave." When such sentiments are responded to with enthusiasm by a large assembly, there

can be no mistake as to their views and feelings. We know these are not the views entertained by all who profess to be colonizationists. Many are conscientiously laboring under the impression that they are engaged in a humane and benevolent work. But it is said, an honest heart is the best casuist, and on further investigation they will find their mistake, as others have done before them.

Pecuniary considerations are one great cause of excitement on our borders, and extends its influence to the interior. It is alleged, that if we continue abolition movements, the South will not *trade* with us, but break off from the Union.

Do you really believe that the South *trades* with you now as a mere matter of *favor*, having no *interest* concerned? Suppose this to be true, which is not, are you then willing to make a servile bow to slaveholders, and sell your American liberty for *dollars and cents*, and are you serious in believing that they will break off from the Union? If they can keep you in awe by blustering threats, they will do it; but while they act *rationaly*, there is no danger. They are too wise mariners not to look out for breakers near the coast. But if they break off in a fit of phrenzy, the folly and consequences will be their own, however much we might deprecate the evil day.

You have the principles of slavery before you. It is unnecessary here to portray the practical cruelties resulting. Other than bad consequences cannot be expected to flow from a system radically wrong. The practical cruelties of this system may be seen exhibited in their true colors in books and papers, abundantly extant and of easy access. For a complete development of the whole plan, practical operations and prospects of the anti-slavery cause, we would invite your attention to the Correspondence between the Hon. F. H. ELMORE one of the South Carolina delegation in Congress and JAMES G. BIRNEY, one of the Secretaries of the American Anti-Slavery Society. And we would most earnestly recommend to your notice, "Thoughts on Slavery," by Rev. John Wesley; it is a small tract and easily obtained. We would quote from it, but every word comes home with such force that it would be a pity to separate sentences: especially let every professor of religion read it.

To show the practicability, the safety and happy results of Immediate Emancipation, we recommend an authentic account of "Emancipation in the West Indies," by Thome and Kimball in 1837, from which we take the following extracts; they will also show the light in which we are viewed at a distance, page 10.

"No little desire was manifested by the company to know the



state of the slavery question in this country. They all, planters and missionaries, spoke in terms of abhorrence of our slavery, our mobs, our prejudice, and our Christianity. One of the missionaries said it would never do for him to go to America, for he should certainly be excommunicated by his Methodist brethren, and Lynched by the advocates of slavery. He insisted that slaveholding professors and ministers should be cut off from the communion of the Church."

'The United States' Consul, (p. 50,) says,—

"Whatever may have been the dissatisfaction as regards emancipation among the planters at its commencement, there are few, indeed, if any, who are not *now* well satisfied that under the present system, their properties are better worked, and their laborers more contented and cheerful, than in the time of slavery."

We shall further extract to show the state of things, in Antigua, before and after Emancipation, (same page.)

"Views and conduct of the planters previous to emancipation:

"1st. They regarded the negroes as an inferior race, fit only for slaves.

"2d. They regarded them as their rightful property.

"3d. They took it for granted that negroes could never be made to work without the use of the whip; hence,

"4th. They supposed that emancipation would annihilate sugar cultivation; and,

"5th. That it would lead to bloodshed and general rebellion.

"6th. Those therefore who favored it, were considered the '*enemies of their country*'—'*TRAITORS*'—and were accordingly persecuted in various ways, not excepting imprisonment in the common jail.

"7th. So popular was slavery among the higher classes, that its morality or justice could not be questioned by a missionary—an editor—or a *planter* even, without endangering the safety of the individual.

"8th. The anti-slavery people in England were considered detestable men, intermeddling with matters which they did not understand, and which at any rate did not concern them. They were accused of being influenced by selfish motives, and of designing to further their own interests by the ruin of the planters. They were denounced as *fanatics, incendiaries, knaves, religious enthusiasts*.

"9th. The abolition measures of the English Government were considered a gross outrage on the rights of private property, a vio-

lation of their multiplied pledges of countenance and support, and a flagrant usurpation of power over the weak.

"Views and conduct of the planters subsequent to emancipation:

"1st. The negroes are regarded as *men*—equals standing on the same footing as fellow-citizens.

"2. Slavery is considered a foolish, impolitic, and wicked system.

"3d. Slaves are regarded as an *unsafe* species of property, and to hold them disgraceful.

"4th. The planters have become the *decided enemies* of slavery. The worst thing they could say against the apprenticeship, was, that 'it was only another name for *slavery*.'

"5th. The abolition of slavery is applauded by the planters as one of the most noble and magnanimous triumphs ever achieved by British government.

"6th. Distinguished abolitionists are spoken of in terms of respect and admiration. The English Anti-Slavery Delegation spent a fortnight in the island, and left it the same day we arrived. Wherever we went we heard of them as 'the respectable gentleman from England,' 'the worthy and intelligent members of the Society of Friends,' &c. A distinguished agent of the English anti-slavery society now resides in St. John's, and keeps a bookstore, well stocked with anti-slavery books and pamphlets. The bust of GEORGE THOMPSON stands conspicuously upon the counter of the bookstore, looking forth upon the public street.

"7. The planters affirm that the abolition of slavery put an end to all danger from insurrection, rebellion, privy conspiracy, and sedition, on the part of the slaves.

"8th. Emancipation is deemed an incalculable blessing, because it released the planters from an endless complication of responsibilities, perplexities, temptations and anxieties, and because it *emancipated them from the bondage of the whip*.

"9th. *Slavery—emancipation—freedom*—are the universal topics of conversation in Antigua. Anti-slavery is the popular doctrine among all classes. He is considered an enemy to his country who opposes the principles of liberty. The planters look with astonishment on the continuance of slavery in the United States, and express their strong belief that it must soon terminate here and throughout the world. They hailed the arrival of French and American visitors on tours of inquiry as a bright omen. In publishing

our arrival, one of the St. John's papers remarks, 'We regard this as a pleasing indication that the American public have their eyes turned upon our experiment, with a view, we may hope, of ultimately following our excellent example.'(!) All classes showed the same readiness to aid us in what the Governor was pleased to call 'the objects of our philanthropic mission.'

"Such are the views *now* entertained among the planters of Antigua."

With these historical facts before us, let us not despair of ultimate success. Let us with manly courage persevere, regardless of popular odium heaped upon a righteous cause.